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CONTENTS.—*Let. on State of Europe and of Parties,* 737. *Let. to Sir Jo. Banks,* 743. *Let. to Mr. Wilberforce,* 745. *Proc. in Parl.* 751. *Abst. Army Estimates—Turkey,* 754. *Dutch and Barbary Powers—Ratisbon—Vienna,* 755. *Basle—Bey of Tunis and Buonap.—Boudet's Rep. of St. Domingo,* 756. *French News—British Colo.* 757. *Distrib. of the Bri. Navy,* 758. *Army—Names of Persons to be tried for Trea.—Meetings Ship Owners,* 759. *Sum. Pol.* 762.

ON THE SITUATION OF EUROPE, AND THE PARTIES OF GREAT BRITAIN.

Sir,—"The *public* FEELING," we are told in one of our journals, "*is with* MR. "WINDHAM, *and the public* REASON *with Lord* "HAWKESBURY." Such it was "most con- "fidently affirmed," was the result of the debates on the speech from the throne. If this be true, never surely was there an administration that more exactly fulfilled the duty which it owes to the Sovereign and his people, and whatever may be the state of the continent, that of our own country is highly "satisfactory." For this is the great end of all government, this is the leading object which human wisdom has aimed to secure, by all the different institutions of political society,—*that the public* RESAON *should prevail over the public* FEELING. But, however confident is the assertion, however pretty and quaint is the antitheses, in which it is conveyed, tricked out, too, with all the decoration of *italics* and CAPITALS, to catch the eye, and surprise the judgment, it is not so that a question of such serious importance can be determined. To satisfy the reason, something of closer examination and deeper discussion is required. As a plain man, therefore, having no party interest to manage, and thinking for myself, I shall endeavour to discover and exhibit truth, in her own unadorned simplicity.

Let us, then, look a little into the ground of this assertion. I have, indeed, in some degree, chosen to begin this letter with the passage I have quoted, because the explanation which the writer gives of his meaning, is well worthy of attention.—"It is a "struggle," (he goes on to say), "between "a sense of two sorts of dangers; the dan- "gers of peace, and the dangers of war. "The first," (he assumes) "are somewhat "distant and uncertain, and may be avert- "ed by events: the latter are immediate "and inevitable. Hence, (concludes he) "to risk the former is preferred; but the "choice is made with a sigh, and with "heavy forebodings." Alas! Sir, "sighs "and heavy forebodings" do not usually accompany the clear and steady decisions of satisfied reason: they rather speak the confused and tumultuous victory of one ill-defined feeling over another. If, however, we for a moment put out of our view the positive truth or falsehood of the comparison, which is assigned as the motive, I do believe this to be a sufficiently faithful account of the gloomy, dull, dead acquiescence which the majority of Parliament certainly, and possibly of the nation, coldly and doubtingly yielded to the ambiguous intimations of Ministers, and the more intelligible rhetoric of their powerful champion and protector, Mr. Fox. Our day-dreams of the blessings of peace are fled for ever. We distinctly perceive that our present situation is, what, if I remember right, some of the Minister's own connexions described it to be,—nothing better than "*a hollow armed truce*;" that very truce, which, when desired before, under its proper name, was refused, with the warm approbation of every honest man in the kingdom; but when offered to sale, as a favour and a boon, under the specious name of peace, was eagerly purchased by our rulers, at a price never yet given for the safest and most beneficial settlement of our own interests, and the liberties of Europe. There is, in fact, no question now between war on the one side, and peace on the other. The only choice is between two evils of the same kind; the war of the sword, and the war of journals and gazettes, of memorials and remonstrances, of tariffs and cockets, of intrigues and influence (if any influence we can ever regain) in all the foreign courts of Europe; attended, at every turn, with mutual preparations for actual hostilities; and ultimately leading, at no great distance of time, to a more obstinate and dubious contest for our independence, or to absolute and final submission.

To this point, Sir, FEELING and REASON have journeyed on amicably together; but here, it seems, they take different roads. The former, with HONOUR for her companion, holds on the steep and arduous, but plain and direct track that rises before her: the latter stops short, and led by INDOLENCE, turns away, to wind as she imagines,

by a gentle declivity, along the side of the mountain that opposes her progress. I fear, however, that she will soon find her path rough with stones, and perplexed with brambles and briars, carrying her downward with more precipitous descent at every step, till she sees the gulph of ruin and infamy yawning under her feet; from which there is no escape, but by clambering up the over-hanging rocks with tenfold difficulty and danger. Indeed, she has taken an ignorant and deceitful guide; and, with a little departure from her own character, forgot to look at a map of the country before she set out upon her travels.

If, Sir, the choice has been made on such a notion as this writer holds out to us, of *the dangers of war compared with the dangers of peace*, I do not hesitate to say, it has been rashly as well as erroneously made. No such question has ever been discussed, certainly not in the debate on the King's speech, by which it is said to have been determined. For this I have what the writer whom I have quoted must allow to be incontrovertible authority. The report in the same paper will shew him, that he has, with consummate justice, pronounced sentence against Mr. Windham, without hearing him. That gentleman is there represented as having expressly distinguished that he did not mean to consider at all the expediency or inexpediency of immediate war. The words attributed to him are:—"Not being in an official situation, *I am* "NOT SUFFICIENTLY INFORMED *to advise particularly; but I* THINK *we should weigh well in what situation we shall be*, when "the war shall come upon us; for come it "will, and sooner than I wish to say. *I* "THINK *it would be the wiser way to anticipate the blow*; BUT THIS IS MORE THAN IS "NECESSARY FOR ME TO ENTER INTO, "as it is for Ministers to determine." And the other reports all concur in making a similar reservation. As I am no respecter of persons, I am not concerned whether Mr. WINDHAM may be thought to have done right or wrong in thus treating his subject. All which I think it important to observe, is, that in fact he did so treat it. He seems to have designed no more, than to impress the country with a just and awful sense of its present situation; professedly leaving every thing beyond to future deliberation, whenever sufficient knowledge shall have been obtained to light the *public* REASON to a sound and well-informed conclusion.

Mr. T. GRENVILLE and the other speakers on that side, if we may trust the same channels of intelligence (and I have no other) confined themselves within still narrower limits. They chiefly protested against one passage of the address, which, they apprehended might otherwise be interpreted into a declaration of confidence in the present administration, and as in propriety they were bound to do, they stated why they did not think that confidence to have been deserved. It was, that while France had been continually month after month taking some new measure of violent and dangerous aggrandizement, openly attempting to interfere in the internal concerns of this country, for the purpose of silencing the British Press, and at the same time endeavouring to prohibit us from interfering in the affairs of the continent; in proportion as she increased her military and naval force, our establishments were gradually reduced, and our conquests continued to be delivered up under the treaty, till a sudden alarm, we had not yet been told wherefore, all at once changed the whole course of our proceeding; new orders were dispatched to countermand the cessions which had been directed; and new invitations were thrown forth to re-assemble the men, whom we had lost no time, and spared no expense to discharge and disperse. I restrict myself to the speeches in the House of Commons; because to them only allusion is made; but the tendency of what passed in the House of Lords appears to me to have been very similar. And in all this what is there to raise a question between FEELING and REASON in the comparative dangers of war and of peace.

But the DANGERS OF WAR, truly! the "*immediate and inevitable*" DANGERS *of war*! Oh! Sir, how are we already degraded by this pusillanimous peace! This is the first time, I believe, that ever such an argument was addressed to our fears. While the war lasted, when the preliminary articles and the definitive treaty were debated, we heard indeed of the *injustice* of the war, of the *inutility* of continuing the war, of the *burthen and expense* of all war, of the *horror* of war contrasted with the blessings of peace; but not a syllable of the positive dangers, "the "immediate and inevitable" dangers of war. I am persuaded, that the spirit of the nation was not then so far broken, as to have tolerated such language. And is it possible even now, that the people, who two years since, when all our allies, some from caprice, some from over-ruling necessity, one by one dropped away; when we were not only opposed single-handed to France

and all her allies, but the very Russian troops, which had been made prisoners while fighting, were accoutred, armed, and mustered to be led against us; when in a time of scarcity we were partly dependent on the Northern States for the very bread which we hoped to eat; yet cordially applauded and strengthened the energy of that government, without waiting for an explanation, which anticipated and provoked a war with all the rest of the maritime powers of Europe;—is it possible that such a people can bear to be represented as shrinking from the peril of renewing hostilities, in a just cause, against France?

What does experience teach us of these pretended dangers? When we laid down our arms, did our merchants feel any trepidation for their rich fleets, which every wind wafted across every sea, laden with all the precious products of the world? Did our colonists in the West fear, as in former wars, lest they should be torn from the protection of the mother country? Were we under any alarm, lest France might detach to the East an army capable of putting our possessions there once more to the hazard? Could she with impunity traverse, what she affects to call her own sea, to seek in Egypt at once a compensation for the American colonies which she had lost, and the means of distant and future attack on our Indian empire, which she could not immediately approach? Could she send out a naval expedition, a cruizer, or a merchant ship in safety? There was, there could be no danger—but of public distress in our finances, or of an invasion. The first is, in other words, the plea of necessity, so strenuously renounced alike by the late and present Chancellor of the Exchequer, before the peace, and up to this very moment; for within these few days, Mr. ADDINGTON, I perceive, has asserted, that without laying any very inconvenient pressure on the country, he could readily find resources for a seven years war. And if there be any point on which such an authority is entitled to peculiar respect, it is here. What, then, is the only remaining terror? That of being compelled to fight for our existence on English land? The menace is not new; It has been perpetually repeated in former wars, but never carried into effect. It has long since become the object of mockery and derision in our popular songs and ballads. Are we then changed? or has that danger become so much more formidable? I am far, very far from thinking, that it is not considerably increased by the possession, or use, which our adversary will now have, of so many harbours and naval stations opposite to the eastern, the most defenceless coast of our island. Yet, let us seriously reflect, that if we admit the preponderating weight of this argument, we we must also admit at once the necessity of absolute, unqualified submission. In any future war, whenever begun, and from whatever cause, that danger must equally be encountered.

It may be said, perhaps, in answer to these topicks from past experience, that we do not stand in the same advantageous position now, as at the conclusion of the late war. It is true, the treaty of Amiens has indeed made a lamentable change. France has augmented her army by more than 100,000 men. She and her allies have obtained from us a supply of seamen sufficient to man between 40 and 50 ships of the line. Their exhausted dock yards are replenished. They have actually at this moment more ships of the line commissioned than we. In the West-Indies they have Martinique, the key of the circumjacent islands, now rendered inexpugnable by our labour and at our cost; and from the relicks of their force at St. Domingo, if they despair of that enterprise, they may furnish an expedition at least of doubtful success against Jamaica. With regard to the East-Indies, we know not at this instant, whether if hostilities should now break out, we shall have a resting place for the necessary refreshment of our troops, who will otherwise go, not to the garrisons and camps, but to the hospitals of India.

If we then turn our eyes homeward, we shall discover with mortification and shame that we have forfeited the confidence and affection of Europe, which never considered what France had over-run, as totally lost, till we abandoned all at Amiens. Then we did not gradually descend in reputation; we were at once plunged from the summit of glory to the lowest abyss of disgrace. The first sentiment, was, a disbelief of the fact; the next astonishment;—that which too soon succeeded, and which will long remain, was,—contempt. And, whatever we have lost in character, is more than added to the intimidation, which France inspires.

Such is the alteration worked by a single year of this ill-omened peace: what, then, are we to expect from its continuance? Is the strength of the French empire likely to grow with its duration, or to be dimi-

nished by natural decay, or the shock of internal riots. Are the dangers of peace as they have been described, "*uncertain*" and "*such as may be averted*," in the ordinary course of human events? For, innocent as we are, in comparison with our adversary, we are not yet a nation so pure in ourselves as to reckon on a peculiar interposition of Providence in our favour; and, the superior crimes of one people, as history both sacred and profane will teach us, are sometimes made the instrument of divine punishment on the rest of the world.

To the considerations which I have hinted at, and to many others, which have been made use of to deaden the spirit of the people, *as well as the paltry views of party interests, which they are most unworthily designed to answer*, I am most anxious, Sir, to proceed: —but I am afraid, that I have already occupied more space than you can well afford me. I shall, however, resume the first opportunity, and, with the blessing of God on the humble efforts of an obscure individual, endeavour to go through this important subject. In the mean time, I hope, that your readers will search their own bosoms, and breathe a little from the only terror which any man can reasonably pretend, that of an invasion. Let them remember, that the sooner they venture to raise their eyes in the face of this danger, the better they will be prepared to meet it: and, upon this fear will all the future policy of France turn, till it has been fairly met and baffled. Yet, let me not be misinterpreted. Be the advantages of an early renewal of hostilities, over a protracted truce (such as we at present have), what they may, we ought not, on that ground alone, to break a treaty, however injurious, which we have solemnly ratified. We must have a just cause of quarrel; we must be satisfied, that there has been some attack on our interests or our honour.

A FREEHOLDER.

Highgate, Dec. 1, 1802.

TO SIR JOSEPH BANKS, BART.

SIR,—Although the unmerited neglect which my last letter experienced at your hands might offend a more captious correspondent, I cannot with hold my compliments on your reinstatement in the chair which you lately occupied with so much dignity, fidelity, and discretion: and indeed, Sir Joseph, you have reason to expect from me not congratulations only, but excuses, because the event of St. Andrew's day has shewn that the charge of vilifying the Royal Society was unfounded.—If that learned body should require a champion in future, I would recommend to them some gentleman of the bar, accustomed to defend the most worthless of mankind; perhaps Mr. Erskine would accept the office; for my own part, I abandon those who have abandoned their own honour, being of opinion that to suffer calumny is indeed a common lot, but to court the calumniator, to abet our own abasement, is the lowest depth of turpitude. —The men who have prostituted their suffrages on this occasion aspire, undoubtedly, to share with you a seat in "that first literary society of the world," the National Institute of France; and since they deserve the stigma, I trust they will obtain it; in which case your memorable address will supply them with a model of thanksgiving: but as the process of individual election may seem too tedious for their philosophical impatience, I beg leave to suggest a more compendious mode of accomplishing their purpose, by procuring (through the joint influence of you and Mr. Fox) a consular decree to merge the London Society in that of Paris. Should this affiliation be effected, though it might not be expedient to assume at first the maternal name, it would, however, be requisite, or at least decorous, to relinquish their ancient title, and substitute that of Philogallican Club, or Regicide Academy, or any other which you may deem appropriate to their views and dispositions; the metonymy to commence on the 21st of January, the anniversary of your incomparable letter and of the murder of Louis XVI. —Your management of the Royal Society proves you to be an apt disciple of the French School; for as it prepares its empire by insulting and debasing the nations which it designs to vanquish, and finds the conquest easy in proportion as the prey becomes contemptible, (a scheme of policy which is now pursued steadily and effectually against England) so you, Sir Joseph, have applied the same rule to subdue a herd of literati. It is true that this display of science was perfectly gratuitous, and that if to maintain the credit of your Society you had manifested a portion of that zeal which you have exerted to pollute it, your re-election would have been equally secure; and, in the judgment of such unsophisticated men as I am, the Presidency so retained would have been more honourable to yourself. But herein again you imitate your masters, whose liberal and enlarged ambition heeds not the condition of their subjects, and prefers the unqualified submission of impoverished and

despicable slaves to the voluntary friendship of a generous but independent people: and if they accomplish the end which they have constantly in view, and which is the chief object of their insidious and unremitting machinations, assuredly they will not suffer us to retain any particle of those blessings that have long been the inheritance of our island; they will plunder us of our wealth (that will be a trifling concern), they will bereave us of our force, our laws, our liberty, and, above all, of that proud and undaunted spirit, the source of our ancient happiness and glory.

Before I conclude this letter, I must congratulate you and your French brethren on their recent acquisition of the arch-patriot of Palace-yard, a man qualified in every way to justify their choice in the class where they have ranged him; the steady partizan of all the conflicting governments of France, the bitter enemy of *all* her enemies, the apologist of her crimes, the eulogist of her frenzy, the abettor of her aggrandisement; he assimilates with the Institute in *morals* as well as in *politics*, and his piety is as orthodox as your own.

And now, Sir Joseph, I take my leave of you and your associates probably for ever: the indignation excited by your conduct subsides into contempt; and the British public will no longer deign to interest itself in your proceedings, foreign or domestic, ostensible or occult, unless peradventure they become a subject for legal animadversion. I am, &c. &c. MISOGALLUS.

Dec. 7th, 1802.

TO WILLIAM WILBERFORCE, ESQ.

SIR,—I have long had an intention to investigate your political opinions, conduct, and motives; and, if adversity be the season, in which nations, as well as individuals, may be taught to see and to abjure the causes of their disgrace; if the people of this country be not more senseless and more hardened than the most callous of malefactors, now is the time to present them with this investigation. Before, however, I enter upon my intended remarks on the general tone and tendency of your politics, and on the great and fatal, though, in its operation, not conspicuous, influence which they have had on the domestic, the colonial, and foreign, affairs of the kingdom, I think it necessary to notice certain passages in your late address to the freeholders of the county of York.—"In appearing before you, on the "present occasion, I cannot but feel, that "I am placed in a *serious*, and I might almost "say, an *awful* situation; for I am come "before you to render up an account of "the trust, which, six years ago, your "kindness committed to me; and, when "I consider the weight and importance of "that trust, under any circumstances, and "still more when I reflect on the very "critical and portentous times, during "which I have possessed it, which have "tended to multiply its difficulties and to "increase its responsibility, it is natural "for me to feel that I am in a *grave* and "*solemn* situation, now that I stand before "you to answer to you for the discharge "of its various and weighty duties. I will "fairly own to you also, gentlemen, that "there is another consideration, which "powerfully affects my mind; I mean the "prodigious *size* of our *vast county*; its population, its wealth, and all those other "circumstances by which it is distinguised. "I know, indeed, that it is *constitutional* "language to affirm, that a member of "parliament for any place, be it what it "may, is, when chosen, the representative, "not of his own particular constituents, "but of the people of England in general: "that the member for *Old Sarum* is a "member of parliament equally with the "member of the very county, in which we "stand.—This is an opinion, which, *in the "main*, I myself hold; it is sound *constitutional* doctrine, which I maintain, and "which this day, I publicly avow; *but yet, "gentlemen, he must have a mind of greater "power of practical abstraction than mine, or "have firmer nerves than I possess, who, when "the rights, the interests, the credit, the "character, the honour, of this great county "(itself a little* KINGDOM) *are committed to "his care, does not feel himself loaded with "a burden far more weighty than that which "he would have to bear, if he were the representative of some decayed town or inconsiderable borough.*—Gentlemen, I trust I "may appear before you with boldness, "because, though conscious of my errors "and imperfections, I can truly declare, "that I have acted with *honest and pure "intentions*, with a mind unbiassed by personal considerations or party motives; "with a sincere desire of promoting the "welfare of our common country—*I* have "*not* made the *sacred* trust which you confided to me subservient to the purposes "of my own *interest* or *aggrandisement.*— "Gentlemen, I trust, it will be our future "policy to abstain, as far as possible, from "those *continental connections*, for which I "had almost said *the very integrity and*

" *good faith of the ministers and people of* " *this country, render us unfit, inasmuch as* " WE *cannot keep or break our engagements* " *according as it suits the convenience of the* " *present moment*, in the fluctuating state of " human affairs. We shall, I trust, cul- " tivate our own *internal resources*, and en- " deavour to render *our* people secure, pros- " perous, and contented. I am happy to " declare to you, gentlemen, that the cha- " racter of his Majesty's present administra- " tion, and the tenor of their past con- " duct, firm and temperate, but yet con- " ciliating and unassuming, is a pledge for " their continuing to act with the same " honest and faithful attention to the true " interests of their country."—The address, from which this quotation is made, was delivered to the freeholders of Yorkshire previous to your late re-election. It had, doubtless, been prepared with great deliberation, it has since been published, from under your own hand, in almost all the newspapers in the kingdom, and, it is, therefore, a fair object of close and severe criticism. I have, indeed, seen, in the True Briton, a publication, purporting to be a speech, delivered by you, in the House of Commons, on the 25th ultimo; in which speech, the editor makes you say, in reference to the address above quoted, that it had about it, perhaps, some unseasonable *merriment*; but that those who animadverted on it, ought to have made *some allowance for your situation*; that you had occasion to return to your constituents, and to address them upon the subject of their *pressure* arising from the war; and that, therefore, if you did make use of an *odd expression*, you were entitled to some indulgence in speaking, upon such an occasion, *to* SUCH A CLASS OF PERSONS *as your constituents were*.—Observe, Sir, that I do not impute these sentiments to you: it is impossible, that Mr. Wilberforce should have represented as a *jest*, as a mere *odd expression*, made use of to *soothe* and to *coax* a crowd of ignorant, credulous, avaricious countrymen; it is absolutely impossible, that the moral, the pious, I had almost said the sanctified, Mr. Wilberforce, should have given this interpretation to any part or particle of an address, at the delivery of which he professed to consider himself as placed not only in a " *serious*," a " *grave*," and a " *solemn*," but even in " an *awful* situation!"—No; this is impossible; the speech, as given in the newspapers, must be grossly erroneous, if not altogether a fabrication: the address to the freeholders of York was a serious, grave, and solemn act; a deliberate declaration of your principles; an " awful" enunciation of your political creed.

Those particular parts of this address which I propose, at present, to remark on, sufficiently explain your sentiments as to *parliamentary* and to *foreign politics*. With respect to the former, I cannot but admire the acuteness, with which you, in the letter, subscribe to the " sound constitutional " doctrine," while, in the spirit, you retain those democratical principles of reform, by the aid of which you first found your way into parliament as member for the deluded county of York; I cannot but admire the modesty, as well as the nice discrimination of character and intellect, which led you to provide for the meridian of St. Stephen's, a confession of the perfect equality between you and a member for Old Sarum, while you taught the clowns of Yorkshire to regard their county as " *a little* KINGDOM," and you, of course, as a *little king*. Desirous as I am, however, to do you justice on these and some other points, I must, for the present, repress that desire, and confine myself to your professions of *honesty*, pure *intentions*, and *disinterestedness*, in the discharge of the " sacred ' trust reposed in you by the persons whom you call your constituents. And here I must confess to you, that all this talk about *constitutional doctrine, representatives, constituents, trust reposed, rendering account*, &c. &c. as applied to the members of his Majesty's parliament and the electors of those members, is, in my opinion, when strictly examined, an unintelligible jargon, the mere slang of vulgar politicians, an assemblage of words and notions totally unknown to the letter and to the spirit of the laws and usages, under which the King's parliament is called together, and under which it acts. This, however, is a topic too unimportant to stand in competition against that of your unheard-of *disinterestedness*, which, leaving, your " honesty" and " pure *intentions*," to be noticed hereafter, I shall now proceed to examine.

Next to the word *liberty*, Sir, I do not, at this moment, recollect one that admits of a greater variety of interpretations, or that has produced more mischief in the world, than that of *disinterestedness*. You seem, however, to have affixed to it a meaning definite enough to reason upon. You say: " *I* " have *not* made the sacred trust, which you " confided to me, subservient to the pur- " poses of my own *interest* or *aggrandize-* " *ment*." If, then, disinterestedness con-

sists in not making use of parliamentary influence for the purposes of private interest or aggrandisement, the next consideration, is, *what ought to be regarded as private interest or aggrandizement.* Is it exclusively the obtaining of money, or of titles? If so, disinterestedness is a very cheap commodity to him who happens to be rich, and who would think himself degraded by a title. Is it merely the possession of *place?* No; for though, as present experience teaches us, some men certainly wish for office because it enables them to gratify their own covetousness and vanity, there are others, and, I hope, a far greater number, who, in their pursuit of power, are actuated by the noble motive of advancing the honour and happiness of their sovereign and their country. That considerations of a private nature, that the desire of posthumous, and even of present, fame, may and must mix themselves along with this great leading public motive, I allow; but, Sir, I defy you to show me, in the conduct of a placeman of this latter description, any presumption that he has made the choice of his electors subservient to his own interest or aggrandizement, which presumption will not apply, with equal, if not with greater force to yourself. Such a minister of state may bestow, or cause to be bestowed, numerous places and pensions; but I much question if any one, of late years, has done more in this way than yourself. Such a minister may be proud of being the servant of the King; you of being the "representative" of "a little kingdom." Such a minister may desire to be, and may be, in reality, the open and absolute ruler of the nation; while your meekness may lead you to be content with being the secret, but not less absolute ruler of that same minister. Your ambition is of a different species, and seeks, therefore, a different sort of gratification. You have, indeed, in your address to your "constituents" since your re-election, given us an ample explanation of your feelings and motives, as applicable to this subject.—"I see also in its true point "of *elevation* the *exalted station* to which "your favourable opinion has again *raised* "*me.* Suffer me in truth to say, (a sentiment the avowal of which, remarks that "have been elsewhere made may render not improper) that I consider the "honour of being your representative as "*one of the highest I could enjoy.* "Great is my respect for hereditary honours. "It is still greater for those which have "been granted by the well-judging hand of "our sovereign, for brilliant exploits rendered to the public by our great naval and military commanders, or for long and faithful "services in public offices of high trust and "laborious duty. But he must have a mind "constituted *very differently from mine*; his "estimate of things must be formed on *very* "*different* principles; *who could account as* "*more honourable that nobility* which should "be granted from motives of political interest or personal favour, than the dignified and *exalted station* to which he is elevated, who, by the free and united voice "of the freeholders of Yorkshire, is elected "to be the depository of their interests, and "the guardian of their rights."—I believe you to have been perfectly sincere in this declaration; and, indeed, every man in England must know, that if, during the administration of Mr. Pitt, it had pleased you to be a peer, you would not now have been a commoner. But, what becomes then of your *disinterestedness?* Or, at least, where is the proof of it? What *sacrifice* of interest or aggrandizement do you make in so acting as to insure your re-election, and, with it, the possession of what you regard as "*one of the highest of dignities?*" Already "loaded" with honours full as great, in your modest estimation, as those of the hero of the Nile, and *greater* than those of the descendants of Marlborough, what had you to covet? What greater object could you have than that of preserving your seat? To what greater purpose of interest or aggrandizement could you possibly have converted your parliamentary trust?

Since, then, the mere circumstance of not having been in office (even supposing you capable of it), and not having received a title, is, in itself, no proof, nor even presumption, in favour of that "*honesty*," that "*uprightness*," those "*pure intentions*," or that wonderful "*disinterestedness*," of which you make so ostentatious a display; and, since it is evident, from your own declarations, that the principal object of your ambition, is, to preserve your seat for the county of York, to continue to be the "representative" of a "little kingdom," it remains for me to inquire whether *the means*, by which you have hitherto secured that object, are such as entitle you to that character for superior political purity, which you have assumed, and which, through the credulity of others, has given you, in the public affairs of this country, a degree of influence that has largely contributed towards the adoption of those measures, which have produced our present embarrassment and disgrace.—But this inquiry

I must postpone till my next.—I am, Sir, yours, &c. &c. WM. COBBETT.

London, Nov. 6, 1802.

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT.

Wednesday, December 1.

HOUSE OF PEERS.—Counsel were heard relative to the Scotch Appeal, Graham *v.* Henderson; and several new petitions were presented.—His Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence moved, "that a committee be appointed to take into consideration the present situation of the House, for the purpose of considering the best mode in which the House, and the parts and chambers appertaining thereto, may be rendered more convenient and commodious for the reception of the Peers." Question put, and committee appointed. —Petitions were presented from their Royal Highnesses the Dukes of Clarence and Cumberland, as peers of Ireland, requesting that they may be allowed their right to vote at the election of peers to sit and vote for Ireland. Referred to the Committee of Privileges.—Mr. Robinson, from the London Wet Dock Company, presented the account of the receipts and disbursements of that corporation, from June 1, 1801 to May 31, 1802, and also a report of the Surveyors relative to the progress of the works carrying on.—*Lord Moira* gave notice, that on Friday he should bring forward a motion for the production of some papers relative to the transactions which had taken place respecting the Nabob of Arcot.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Petitions complaining of undue elections were presented from East Grinstead, Cirencester, Bishop's Castle, Evesham, and Retford.—Petitions were also presented from the Malsters of Whitchurch, praying for relief.—*General Gascoyne* moved, "That there be laid before the House an account of the number of ships, with the amount of tonnage, and the number of men employed therein, who have cleared outwards, and entered inwards from Oct. 10, 1800 to Oct. 10, 1802, distinguishing Foreign from British ships."—*Mr. Addington* stated, that the information must be with-held till January next, at which time the accounts were regularly made up. The motion was therefore withdrawn.—*Mr. Vansittart* brought up an account of Exchequer Bills issued in pursuance of the Act of last Session, at present unprovided for.—*Mr. Addington* moved, "that a sum not exceeding £2,781,532 : 15 : 3½ be granted to pay off Exchequer Bills issued in pursuance of the 42 Geo. III."—*Sir P. Stephens* moved, "that 50,000 men should be employed for the sea service, for the year 1803, including 12,000 marines; that £1,202,500 be granted for wages for the said 50,000 men for 13 lunar months, at the rate of 37s. per month per man; that £1,235,000 be granted for victuals for the said men, for 13 lunar months, at the rate of 38s. per month per man; that £1,950,000 be granted for wear and tear of the ships on board of which the said men are to be employed, for 13 lunar months, at £3 per man per month; that £162,500 be granted for Ordnance Stores, for the sea service, for the said ships at the rate of 2s. per month per man." Agreed to.—In a Committee of the House, to take into consideration the Militia Laws of Ireland, *Mr. Long* moved, "that the sum of £40,000 be advanced to defray the expences of raising the militia of Ireland." Agreed to.

Thursday, December 2.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—A petition complaining of an undue election was presented from Newcastle-under-Line.—A petition was also presented from the malsters of Leicester against the Malt Wetting Act.—The Small Note Bill was read and passed.—*Mr. Alexander* brought up the report of the Committee of Supply, and on the motion that the resolution for granting 50,000 seamen for the service of the ensuing year be read a second time, an interesting debate took place, which will be found at length in our Supplement. *Mr. Thos. Grenville* expressed his astonishment, that ministers should demand an extraordinary supply of seamen, without condescending to give the least explanation of the reasons which induce the necessity, or the purposes to which he means to apply them. He was followed on the same side by *Mr. Sturges*, *Lord Proby*, *Sir R Laurie*, *Mr. Canning*, and *Dr. Laurence*. The speakers on the other side were, *Mr. Addington*, *Sir Sidney Smith*, *Capt. Markham*, *Lord Hawkesbury*, and the *Attorney-General*. The resolutions were put and carried.—The report of the Committee on the Irish Militia Bill was brought up, and the resolutions agreed to.

Friday, December 3.

HOUSE OF PEERS.—Counsel were heard in continuation relative to the Scotch Appeal, Graham *v.* Henderson.—*Lord Moira* presented a bill entitled, "An Act for the more effectual prevention of frivolous and vexatious arrests, and for the relief of persons imprisoned on Mesne Process; and also a bill for the "Relief of certain Insolvent Debtors."—*Lord Moira* moved, "that there be laid before the House, copies of all the instructions sent out on the part of the East-India Company, from January 1, 1797 to January 1, 1801, from the Court of Directors to the Governor-General; also to the Governor of Madras, relative to the assumption of the Government of the Carnatic." Ordered.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Petitions complaining of undue elections were presented from Radnorshire, Newcastle, and Kingston-upon-Hull.—*Mr. Pole* brought up the estimates of the Ordnance Service for the ensuing year.—*Mr. Addington*, in the Committee of Ways and Means, moved the resolutions for the annual duties upon malt, mum, cyder, perry, tobacco, and sugar: he also moved, "that a sum not exceeding five millions be raised by loans on Exchequer Bills." Agreed to.—*Gen. Gascoyne* presented a petition from the merchants of Liverpool, against the Tonnage Duty.—*Mr. Dent* presented a petition from the prisoners in Lancaster gaol, praying for relief.

Monday, December 6.

HOUSE OF PEERS.—Heard counsel in a Scotch Appeal.—Promissory Note Bill brought up, and read a first time.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Accounts were laid before the House of the number of ships employed in the Whale Fishery from Scotland: of the quantity of rice and corn imported, and the bounties thereon: also an account from the Exchequer, shewing the amount of the permanent taxes from Oct. 1801 to Oct. 1802.—A petition from the Brewers of Gloucester, against the late duty on beer was presented.—A petition was presented complaining of a double return for Sterling.—Petitions were also presented complaining of undue elections for Carrickfergus, Coventry,

Leominster, Aylesbury, Middlesex, Malden, Honiton, Shaftesbury Windsor, Weymouth, Great Grimsby, and Malcombe Regis.—*Mr. Dickenson* presented a petition from the debtors in Ilchester gaol.—*Mr. Alexander* brought up the report of the Committee of Ways and Means; the resolutions were agreed to, and bills ordered to be brought in.—Irish Militia Bill read a second time.—*Mr. Vansittart* presented an account of the bounties paid for taking and bringing fish to the markets of London and Westminster: he also moved for leave to bring in a bill to amend an Act of 41 Geo. III. relative to the interest of 3½d. per diem on Navy Bills.—*Sir E. Nepean* moved, that there be laid before the House an account of the expense for the maintenance of prisoners of war, payable in 1802.

Tuesday, December 7.

House of Peers.—Heard counsel in a Scotch Appeal.—Promissory Note Bill read a second time.

House of Commons.—Bill brought in for enlarging the burying ground of St. Giles' parish.—A petition from the druggists of Tavistock for the repeal of the Medicine Act was presented; and also one from the prisoners confined for debt in Worcester gaol. Petitions complaining of undue elections were presented from Shaftesbury, Kingston-upon-Hull, Newcastle-under-Line, Hereford, Carmarthen, Bridgewater, Tregony, Sudbury, Seaford, Minehead, Hereford City, Durham, and the City of London. A petition was presented from Middlesex against the return of Sir F. Burdett, and charging him with bribery and corruption. Another petition from Middlesex against the competency of Mr. Mainwaring, and denying the charges contained in his petition against the return of Sir F. Burdett was also presented; as strong doubts were entertained of the admissibility of this petition, a motion was made, that the debate upon it be adjourned to Monday.—*Sir E. Nepean* presented some accounts relative to prisoners of war —The Irish Militia went through a committee.—*Mr. Vansittart* moved for an account of the money advanced out of the Civil List in consequence of addresses of that House, and which had not been made good by Parliament. The Malt Bill, Land Tax Pension Bill, Exchequer Bills Bill, and Navy Bills Bill were read a first time.—The Indemnity Bill was read a second time.

Abstract of the Estimates of Army Services for 1803.

		Charge.		
	Numbers.	*For Gt. Britain.*	*For Ireland.*	*Total.*
1. Guards, Garrisons, &c.	66,574	1,474,664 13 3	848,035 7 0	2,322,700 0 3
2. Forces in the Plantations, &c.	37,778	1,129,976 19 4	.....	1,129,976 19 4
3. India Forces	22,814	518,653 11 4	.....	518,653 11 4
4. Troops and Companies for Recruiting ditto	546	28,632 17 8	.....	28,632 17 8
5. Recruiting and Contingencies	..	80,000 0 0	93,341 7 0	173,341 7 0
6. General and Staff Officers, with a State of the Particulars of the Charge	..	35,063 0 5	23,405 0 5	58,468 0 10
7. Offices	..	120,719 11 3	6,793 8 0	127,512 19 9
8. Allowance to Innkeepers, Beer-money, and Allowances to men on a march in Ireland	..	155,000 0 0	45,645 1 3	200,645 1 3
9. Half Pay	..	297,000 0 0	61,152 10 11	358,152 10 11
10. Ditto, for the American Forces	..	52,000 0 0	.....	52,000 0 0
11. Ditto, for the Scotch Brigade	..	1,000 0 0	.....	1,000 0 0
12. Widows' Pensions	..	20,883 16 0	6,000 0 0	26,883 16 0
13. Volunteer Corps	..	40,000 0 0	59,169 4 8	99,169 4 8
14. Barrack Department	..	293,667 0 0	219,773 7 10	513,440 7 10
15. Foreign Corps	5,168	159,672 1 11	.....	159,672 1 11
16. Medicine, Bedding, &c.	..	.....	18,461 10 10	18,461 10 10
	132,880	4,406,933 11 2	1,381,776 18 5	5,788,710 9 7
Deduct the India Forces	22,814	518,653 11 4	.....	518,653 11 4
	110,066	3,888,279 19 10	.....	5,270,056 18 3

FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

Constantinople, Oct. 26.—A great irritation still prevails between the Turkish and English troops in Egypt. There have been several bloody affrays between them, and the English General has thought it proper to require the Turks to restore the forts of Alexandria which have been already ceded to them, as necessary for his security, till the final evacuation of the city; but with this request they have refused to comply. The English, however, still remain in possession of the city of Alexandria.—The courts of Madrid and Naples, and the Batavian government, having obtained the consent of the Russian court that their ships should trade to the Russian ports on the Black Sea, the Russian ambassador here, general Tamara, has presented a memoir to the Porte, requesting the grant of a free navigation of the Black Sea for those governments, to which the Porte does not appear disinclined, provided it receives some advantages in return.—The Spanish ambassador here, the Chevalier De Corral, has applied to the Porte to acknowledge the King of Etruria, to which the Reis Effendi has answered, that the Porte is ready so to do, provided the established ordinance be not departed from, which requires that this acknowledgment shall be made by means of a treaty of peace.—A commercial treaty has been concluded with Spain, relative to the free navigation of the Black Sea.

Leghorn, Nov. 12.—The Batavian vice-admiral, De Winter, has been at Tripoly, and concluded a peace with that state, under a promise to pay to the Pacha an annual acknowledgment of 80,000 Spanish piasters, of which sum, 20,000 are to be paid immediately, and the remainder after the expiration of six months. A yearly present of 7,000 piastres is besides to be made. The Dutch have likewise given the Pacha 120 barrels of gun-powder and a quantity of tar.

Ratisbon, Nov. 20.—The deputation of the empire held its twenty eighth sitting the day before yesterday, when it voted a *conclusum*, importing that a definitive *conclusum* should be immediately prepared.—In the same sitting, a decree of Imperial commission was read, in which the minister of His Imperial Majesty formally required the deputation not to separate before they had finally decided upon the lot of those princes and ecclesiastical corporations, who, by the cession of the left bank of the Rhine, have been entirely dispossessed of their territories, referring to a preceding *conclusum*, by which the deputation agreed to provide sufficient funds for the maintenance of those who would cease to exist as states of the empire.

Vienna, Nov. 21.—Prince Nicholas Esterhazy, lieutenant-captain of the Hungarian guard, is going to Paris. He took leave of His Imperial Majesty the day before yesterday. He will pass the greater part of the winter at Paris, and will, it is said, likewise go to London.—The brother of the Prince Ruspoli, who has been elected grand-master of the order of Malta, is here, and has received a letter from the prince, who is in England, informing him that he has declined accepting the dignity of grand-master, and stating his reasons for his refusal.—Letters from Italy say, that the vice-president of the Italian republic, citizen Melzi, will make a journey to his estates in Spain, and that general Murat will, in the mean time, exercise his functions.—General Colli, who formerly commanded the Sardinian army in Piedmont, which was joined by the Austrian troops, being now completely restored to health, is again in actual service.—The Palatine of Hungary is preparing to make a journey to Petersburgh, which is supposed by some, to have a reference to an intended marriage with a Russian princess.

Ratisbon, Nov. 22.—On the 19th, citizen Laforet and baron Buhler again gave in a short note to the deputation of the empire, in which they say, that "the recess (or final conclusion) of the deputation is now immediately expected; a recess which must merely contain the general plan of indemnities, and the supplementary regulations, together with the regulations relative to the provisional maintenance of the chamber of the empire." To this notification the said ministers have added some alterations, relative to the indemnities of the prince of Leinengen, the grand priory of the order of Malta, and the Helvetic republic; no change, however, is made in the principal allotments.—In the 29th sitting of the deputation, which was held on the 20th inst. the recess of the deputation was begun to be drawn up, and read as far as the 47th section inclusive: to-morrow, probably, the whole will be completed.—In consequence of the approaching occupation of this city, its ecclesiastical foundations and convents, by 300 of the electoral arch-chancellor's troops, the magistracy, on the 19th, published a notification of the approaching change of the government, in which they exhort all persons to behave peaceably and orderly on the entrance of the troops.

Augsburgh, Nov. 22.—As we are now freed, by the generosity of the mediating powers, from all the solicitude with respect to our continuing an imperial city, our magistracy will next Wednesday take possession of all the ecclesiastical edifices, lands, and property, within this city and its territory.—Several Swiss commercial houses propose to remove to Augsburgh, in consequence of the present distracted state of their country.

The government of the Bavarian territory in Suabia will be removed to Ulm.

Basle, Nov. 23.—Several nominations have been made within these few days past for the *consulta*, at Paris. The canton of Rhetia (the Grisons), have sent the senator Surecher, minister of police and of justice, and the prefect Planta. The city of Berne has deputed M. Gruber, president of the municipality, and the ex-patricians Wattenwyl, Jenner, and Haller. M. Mulinin has refused to accept his nomination. Several communes, of the canton of Appenzel, have appointed the receiver-general of the canton of Senlis, citizen Zuber, to attend to their interests at the congress at Paris.—According to a decree of the senate, the members of the insurrectional authorities are called upon personally, and substantially, to restore all money and effects belonging to the republic, which they seized during the momentary triumph of the Oligarchic party.

Paris, Dec. 1.—Sidi Mustapha Arnout, envoy from the Bey of Tunis, was admitted last Sunday to an audience of the First Consul at the palace of St. Cloud. He explained, by means of his interpreter, the object of his mission, which was to congratulate the First Consul on his election to the consulate for life, and to express an hope that the First Consul would grant his *friendship* and *protection* to Tunis.

The general of division, Boudet, who has arrived from St. Domingo, brings intelligence respecting the situation of that colony, which must entirely dissipate the malevolent and alarming reports which have been raised. At the review of the 23d of September, the army was found to consist of 14,000 infantry of the line, 5000 light infantry 2000 gendarmerie, 2000 artillery, and 500 cavalry, amounting altogether to 23,500 men, whites from Europe, and of 4000 black colonial troops. Of these troops there were in the hospitals 2600 infantry of the line, 1100 light infantry, 150 gendarmerie, and 400 artillery. There remains, therefore, between 18 and 19,000 whites fit for service, and near 4000 blacks. The number of sick in the hospitals was, doubtless, considerable, but it does not amount to above a fifth of the whole. The rainy season having set in, it is probable that by the latter end of October there would be a diminution of one half in the hospitals.—The men who have perished since the debarkation of the army, either by disease or the sword, amount to about a fifth. This review was passed with the greatest strictness, and the result signed by general Leclerc, the inspector of reviews, and general Dugua, chief of the Etat Major.—All those troops which arrived in December, January, and February, and who have had time to become accustomed to the climate during the winter, have suffered much less than the others from the disease, which has been, not only at St. Domingo, but throughout America, much more dangerous than usual.—In the review there was not comprised the 86th regiment, con-

sisting of more than 2000 veterans, accustomed to a southern climate, who arrived in the latter end of October.—As to the situation of the country, the Spanish part and the southern part were in a state of perfect tranquillity. In the canton of Jeremie alone some accidents had happened. Some hundreds of the brigands, profiting by the excessive heat, which rendered all action impossible, committed ravages, and even burnt some plantations in the plain of the Cape; but it is well known, that in the midst even of the most tranquil departments it is impossible to arrest the incendiaries.—Of 60,000 musquets which were in the possession of the blacks, 45,000 have been returned into the magazines; and general Leclerc reckoned, that after the first fifteen or twenty days of the rainy season had passed, he should be able to march, towards the latter end of November, for the purpose of dispersing the remaining assemblies formed in the mountains, completing the disarming of the blacks, and destroying the means of subsistence which they had collected.—The Cape was almost entirely rebuilt, and all the towns which were burnt a year since, are rebuilding with the greatest activity *(Moniteur.)*

Six battalions, of different corps, chosen from amongst the strongest men of the demi-brigade, embarked on the 10th or 11th ult. at Toulon. It is thought that their destination is for St. Domingo. The chief of brigade, Borthon, has also embarked for that island, where he is to fulfil the functions of director general of artillery.

They write from Zurich, that in the night between the 13th and 14th of November, the citizens arrested in that city were carried away in two carriages, under a French escort, but where is not positively known.

Paris, Dec. 4.—On Wednesday the Conscripts of the 6th Division, quarrelled among themselves. The guards interfered, but were attacked by the Conscripts. A patrole of Dragoons came to the support of the Guard, and overpowered the Conscripts. One man was killed, several wounded, and twenty-three of the mutineers have been arrested.

Brest, Nov. 28.—The Corvettes La Torche, from Martinique, and La Curieux, from Cayenne, have been released from quarantine, and have entered the Great Road. The Epidemic Fever which raged at St. Domingo and Guadaloupe, had not extended its ravages to Martinique.—The vessel La Rhinoceros has entered L'Orient, from St. Domingo.

The Banks of the Mein, Nov. 27.—We have received from Vienna, the important intelligence that a great part of the city of Constantinople has been destroyed by an earthquake, on the 26th of October last. *(We doubt this.)*

BRITISH COLONIES.

Gibraltar, Nov. 10.—On the 5th inst. Gonzales, a Spaniard, who had assassinated a Spanish gentleman in Grenada in August last, was delivered up to the officers of justice sent in pursuit of him by the Spanish government. Another murderer was at the same time requested to be given up, who had assassinated several people some years ago, and had also taken refuge in the garrison. This, H. R. H. the governor unfortunately found himself restrained from doing, by the late treaty of peace. H. R. H. was therefore under the necessity of expressing to the Spanish commandant the regret he felt at being precluded from delivering the assassin into his hands, but that he should instantly order him to be turned out of the place, which was accordingly done, by landing him on the neutral ground, where he would probably fall into the hands of the Spaniards.—An English frigate under a crowd of sail passed, on the 3d inst. through the Streights, to the westward. She was probably charged with dispatches from the fleet, for England.—Orders have been received here not to reduce Watteville's Reg. which is at present in Egypt.—No intelligence from Egypt or Malta has been received this fortnight past.—The rainy season has set in with great violence; the troops are all extremely healthy, except the remains of the opthalmia, which is still unsubdued in one or two regiments. H. R. H. pays the most unremitting attention to the health of his own regiment, regularly inspecting every man himself daily.—*Nov.* 11.—This morning the St Fiorenzo frigate, Capt. Bingham, put in here in distress, she having sprung a leak in her passage to Madeira, with sealed orders.

Nova Scotia.—The King's College established at Windsor in the province of Nova Scotia, for the education of youth in the principles of religion, and for their instruction in those branches of science and literature, which are taught in the Universities of Great Britain, was lately opened. A copy of the Royal Charter will be found in vol. i p. 1054.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE NAVY, NOVEMBER 1, 1802.	Line.	50's	Frig.	Sps.	Tot.
In port and fitting, with sealed orders	9	3	39	44	95
Guard Ships	1	0	0	0	1
In the English and Irish Channels	0	0	4	13	17
In the Downs and North Seas	0	0	8	16	24
At the West-India Islands, and on the passage	2	0	6	21	29
On the Jamaica station, and do	9	0	9	9	27
American and Newfoundland	0	1	5	5	11
Cape of Good Hope, East-Indies, and on passage	6	7	13	15	41
Coast of Africa	0	0	0	3	3
Portugal and Gibraltar	0	0	3	2	5
In the Mediterranean, and on passage	10	2	20	13	45
Hospital and Prison Ships	1	0	0	2	3
Total in Commission	38	13	107	143	301
Receiving Ships	6	0	7	1	14
Serviceable, and repairing for service	23	1	10	2	86
In ordinary	105	11	86	72	274
Building	24	0	8	2	34
Total	196	25	218	220	659

STATE OF THE ORDINARY AT EACH PORT.					
Portsmouth	39	3	27	15	84
Plymouth	47	1	21	21	90
Chatham	43	7	18	2	70
Sheerness	3	1	7	10	21
River	2	0	30	27	59
Total	134	12	103	75	324

DISTRIBUTION OF THE BRITISH MILITARY FORCE, DEC. 1, 1802.	Regulars. Cav.	Inf.	Fe. Inf.	Tot Ba.	Inv. Co
England and Wales	20	22	—	42	19
Scotland	2	6	—	8	2
Ireland.	8	21	4	33	5
Jersey, Guernsey, &c.	—	4	—	4	13
Gibraltar	—	6	—	6	—
Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, &c.	—	7	1	8	—
West-Indies	—	22	—	22	—
Cape of Good Hope, Goree, &c.	—	6	—	6	—
Egypt and Malta	1	9	—	10	—
East-Indies, and on the passage thither	3	18	—	23	—
At sea, homeward bound . .	—	6	—	6	—
Total . . .	36	127	5	168	39

DOMESTIC.

Advices from Gibraltar of the 29th of October, state, that a ship from Moca brings intelligence, that the Indian army under the command of General Baird, put in there for refreshments, and had again sailed for India five days before Captain Bullock left Moca. Seven of the transports had been wrecked, on their passage down the Red Sea, though but few lives were lost.—Lord Cavan was shortly expected at Gibraltar on his way from Egypt, as he was to leave that country whenever General Stewart arrived.

The persons fully committed to take their trial for High Treason before a Special Commission, are Col. Despard, Thos. Broughton, Sam. Smith, Arthur Graham, John M'Namara, J. S. Wrattler, Wm. Lander, Thos. Winterbottom, John Francis, John Wood, Dan. Tyndall, T. Phillips, alias Jackson, John Conelly, John Doyle, and Thos. Newman. Three of them are soldiers, two ballast-heavers, one a carpenter, and the others shoemakers. They are separately confined in Newgate, and the New Gaol in the Borough. The Special Commission will be appointed immediately after the Session at the Old Bailey shall have ended. The trials will probably take place at Guildford.

MEETING OF SHIP-OWNERS. At a general meeting of ship-owners, held at the London Tavern, Dec. 1, 1802, to receive the report of the committee of ship-owners, for the Port of London, respecting the duty on the tonnage of ships, and on oil and skins, the produce of the British fisheries, and on other business of great importance to the shipping interest: Mr. Hill in the chair. The chairman stated, that the secretary had transmitted to the out-ports, the rules and regulations of the society, and that the ship-owners at North Shields, &c. &c. had appointed committees to cooperate with the committee for the Port of London; that the committee had received several communications from the ship-owners in London and at the out-ports, on many important subjects relative to the shipping interest; that the object of the committee had been the present depressed state of the shipping of the country, and to obtain the repeal of the duty on the tonnage of ships and on oil, &c. the produce of the British fisheries. The most important subjects are the following, viz. The inconvenience of taking out a licence, and giving a bond to the commissioners of the customs; the claim recently set up by the directors of Ramsgate harbour, for payment of the harbour dues on colliers; the present rates of pilotage from the Downs to Gravesend and from thence to London; the recent disputes between the ship-builders and their workmen; and the real state of the shipping interest at this critical and trying juncture. In addition to the objects before stated, many other matters were submitted to the consideration of the committee, and disposed of, they hoped to the satisfaction of the parties. The committee begged leave most earnestly to recommend a strict adherence to the spirit of the navigation laws, and deprecated any attempt to endeavour to relax those maritime regulations which had so effectually contributed to the greatness and power of the country, at a time when all the maritime nations of the world viewed with jealousy the superiority we had gained by our carrying trade. The resolutions of the general meeting of the 30th of Sept. last were then read. The chairman reported the result of the second interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and stated that the committee had not been able to convince him of the impolicy of the tonnage duty. It was then resolved, that a petition be presented to the House of Commons; that the committee be requested to adopt such further means for the repeal of the duty as they may think proper; and that they be instructed to take into consideration the present situation of the ship-owners with respect to Mediterranean passes. *The whole of the interesting papers on this important subject will be given in the* SUPPLEMENT *to this volume.*

FROM THE LONDON GAZETTE.

St. James's, Nov. 24, 1802.—This day M. Otto, Minister Plenipotentiary from the French Republic, had an Audience of his Majesty, to deliver his Letter of Recall:—To which he was introduced by the Right Hon. Lord Hawkesbury, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and conducted by Robert Chester, Esq. Assistant-Master of the Ceremonies.

Whitehall, Nov. 30.—The King has been pleased to grant the dignity of a Baronet of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, to the following Gentlemen, and the respective Heirs Male of their Bodies, lawfully begotten, viz.—John Braithwaite, Esq. Major-Gen. of His Majesty's Forces in the East Indies.—Thomas Woollaston White, of Tuxford, and Wallingwells, in the Counties of Nottingham and York, Esq. with Remainders to his Brothers, Taylor White and Charles Lawrence White, Esqrs. and their respective Heirs Male.—Thomas Theophilus Metcalfe, of Chilton, in the County of Berks, Esq.—Culling Smith, of Hadley, in the County of Middlesex, Esq.—William Curtis, of Culland's Grove, Southgate, in the County of Middlesex, Esq. one of the Aldermen of the City of London.—Joseph Peacock, of Barntick, in the county of Clare, Esq.

Downing-street, Dec. 4, 1802.—The King has been pleased to appoint Bartholomew Frere, Esq. to be His Majesty's Secretary of Legation at the Court of Madrid.

Whitehall, Dec. 7, 1802.—The King has been pleased to present the Rev. A. Goade, to the Vicarage of Terrington, Norfolk, void by the death of the Rev. W. Walker.

BANKRUPTS.

Wegzell, T. Bowling-green-lane, carpenter.—Newman, S. Finsbury-square, merchant.—Ryle, J. Newcastle, linen draper.—Broadbent, J. Mosley, broker.—Rider, T. Southampton, innholder.—Warwick, W. Clerkenwell, jeweller.—Prangnell, J. Whitecross-street, smith.—Neave, T. and M. Bickton, millers.—Cook, B. North Audley-street, miller.—Blogg, W. Pall-mall, architect.—Bentfield, B. Yarmouth, liquor-merchant.—Corbett, H. W. Liverpool, merchant.—Dunsford, M. Tiverton, merchant.—Ainsworth, J. Lincoln, mercer.—Fearhead, E. Tunstal, grocer.—Barns, J. Rochford, dealer.—Williams, T. and H. Field, Aldersgate-street, packers.—Dewis, W. the younger, Bedworth, Warwick, silkman.—Parsons, W. Ringwood, cornfactor.—Taylor, W. Harwich, ship-builder.—Gibbs, J. Wrotham, corn-chandler.—Durand, J. N. Millman-street, merchant.—Henderson, D. the younger, Bernard-street, merchant.—Tessier, A. J. Bentinck-street, feather merchant.—Flower, T. and J. Cooper, Whitechaple, umbrella-makers.—Whitby, J. Chester, corn-factor.—Eldridge, T. Old-street, victualler.—Baxter, J. Middle-Temple, merchant.—Sims, J. Honeycombe, dealer.—Phillips, J. Tottness, shopkeeper.—Holloway, J. P. Swithin's-lane, wine-merchant.—Rogers, J. Dover, hoyman.—Stanley, J. Fleet-market, brandy merchant.—Sealey, R. Bruntcliffe, spirit merchant.—Crook, O. T. Weybridge, timber dealer.—Hill, J. Newgate-street, linen-draper.—Morris, J. Shaddoxhurst, horse-dealer.—Holloway, P. J. and M. Curtis, London, merchant.—Aplin, O. Banbury, Oxford.

BIRTHS.—At Cookham, Berks, the Lady of Colonel Wheatley, of the 1st. Reg. of Guards, of a daughter.—On the 23d ult. the Countess of Banbury, of a daughter.—Lately in Dublin, the Lady of the Hon. Lieut. Col. Hutchinson of a daughter—On the 8th ult. the Countess of Glasgow of a daughter.—On the 23d ult. at Sudbrook-house, the Right Hon. Lady Mary Stopford, of a son.—On the 1st. Dec. Lady Downe of a daughter.

STOCKS.	FRI.	SAT.	MON.	TUE.	WED.	THU
3 per C. Con.	67½	—	—	—	—	—
3 pr Ct. Ann.	99⅛	99⅞	100	100⅛	100¼	100¼
Imp. 3 per Ct.	65⅝	—	—	—	—	—
D° Ann.....	11	11½	—	11½	11½	—
Omnium ...	10½ di	10½di	10¼di	10¼di	10¾di	10½di

LONDON COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

AMSTER. C.F.	11 6	2 us.	LEGHORN	50¼	
D°, at sight	11 4½		NAPLES.....	42	
ROTTERDAM	11 7	2 us.	GENOA	46	
HAMBURGH	34	2½us.	VENICE, 31 livres piccole effective per £. ster.		
ALTONA....	34 1	2½us.			
PARIS 1 day	24 8		LISBON.....	67	
PARIS.....	24 12	2 us.	OPORTO.....	67½	
BOURDEAUX,	24 13		DUBLIN.....	12	
CADIZ		eff.	BILBOA	36¼D°	
MADRID ..		effective	AGIO, bank on Hol.		p.

PRICES CURRENT IN LONDON.

Eng. Wheat pr q.	40s. to 56s	Hops per cwt.	190s to 224s
Rye.....	35 .. 39	Hay per load....	85 .. 146
Barley.....	24 .. 28	Beef, per stone	4s.8d to6s.
Malt.....	40 .. 46	Mutton	5s. 0d. to 6s 0d.
Oats.....	16 .. 24	Veal	5s. 6d. to 6s. 8d.
Pease (white)....	40 .. 45	Pork....	5s. 0d. to 6s. 0d.
Beans (horse)....	34 .. 38	Tallow	4s. 4½d.
Flour per sack ..	45 .. 49	Av. of Sugar pr cw	83s. ½d
Seconds.....	40 .. 45	Salt, per Bushel	13s.10d.
Coals per chal....	48 .. 55	Bread 9¼d the Quar. Loaf.	

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

The intelligence from the *United States of America*, which comes down to the 5th ult. represents the yellow fever as having subsided; but the ever-burning fever democracy appears to have raged with redoubled fury. It is well known, that the democratic, or French party, gained the ascendency at the elevation of Mr. Jefferson to the presidency. This party is certainly sinking at this time: several exposures have taken place, and have produced great effect on the public mind. Strange and lamentable as is the fact, it is nevertheless perfectly true, that about half a dozen English, Scotch, and Irish democrats, who escaped from the hands of justice in Europe, have, with the aid of so many *printing-presses*, brought about the fall of the federal party in America. When their triumph was accomplished, they, of course, looked for that reward of *patriotism*, the LOAVES AND FISHES. The President had one good place (printer to the United States' Government) to bestow, for which, unfortunately for the cause of patriotism, of liberty, and of republican virtue, there were *two* candidates: one JAMES THOMSON CALLENDER, a Scotchman, who was the author of the "Political Progress of Britain," and who escaped from the officers of justice, at Edinburgh, about the year 1793; the other, WM. DUANE, an Irishman, who was, for seditious practices, banished from India, by Lord Cornwallis. To these two men Mr. Jefferson certainly owes his seat in the presidential chair; but, he could not make them *both* printer to the United States, and neither would yield his pretensions. DUANE was the happy man. CALLENDER, to whom the President was most indebted, was enraged beyond measure: the enemies of Jefferson enabled the Scotchman to establish a weekly paper, which he has hitherto devoted almost exclusively to the *exposing* of his former patron. Amongst other things, he has asserted, and, indeed, we think, positively *proved*, that Mr. Jefferson paid him 200 dollars for the writing and publishing of works, the principal object of which was, to defame, and to destroy the characters of, Washington and Adams, and that, too, *at the very time, that he* (Jefferson) *was publickly extolling the talents and virtues of the persons so defamed.* Another fact, which he has published, is, that Mr. Jefferson keeps a *negro concubine*, by whom he has had five children, and whom he has kept, and still keeps, under the same roof with two young ladies, his daughters by a deceased wife!

These are matters not spoken of in a corner, but promulgated and discussed in all the public papers of that country, which are not less than three hundred in number.—But, notwithstanding the discredit which disclosures of this nature may be expected to cast on the democratical party, we are sorry, for the sake of America and of the world, to perceive, that as far as the annual elections had gone, their result indicated but little decline in the influence of that party.—Tom Paine had arrived at Baltimore. If this traitor to his king and blasphemer of his God receives some encouragement from seeing a "temple of reason," where *infidelity is openly preached*, at New York, he must be somewhat mortified at meeting the *works of Burke*, coming from an American press. The Editor of this Register sent 40 sets of the new edition of Burke's Works to America, yet the demand for it has encouraged two booksellers of Philadelphia to put it to press, preceded by the life of the author, written by Dr. Bisset. This is a fact of no small political importance. It shows, that there is yet a sound part in America: for Burke's writings are the true touchstone in politics. Indeed, as to property, morality, and even numbers, the far *greater* part of America is politically sound in sentiment; but, what the other small part wants in every other virtue, it has in the great and all-commanding virtues of *courage* and *perseverance:* it has the *sinews and bones* of the country; its opponent has nothing but the *flesh*, the dull, the heavy, the soft, the trembling flesh.—Was it not so in France?—And is it alas! not so in England?

The *plunder of Germany* and the *subjugation of Switzerland*, have been prominent topics in our political remarks for many weeks past. The former goes on, and will, in all probability continue to go on, with more or less dispatch, until a complete revolution of the Empire is effected. The subjugation of Switzerland is accomplished. The senate, Buonaparté's senate, has imposed *a war-contribution* on the Cantons, amounting to 900,000 livres, for the support of the French troops! This puts us in mind of the conduct of the French vessels of war, which made the American merchantmen pay, in a certain proportion (at about three guineas per ball), *for the balls, which, during a chace, the former fired at the latter!* * And, indeed, these two facts, when the *neutral* and even *amicable* conduct of Switzerland and America towards France, are considered, form, of themselves, no very unsatisfactory refutation, if refutation were still wanted, of the opinions of those who contend, that England might, *by the means of neutrality*, have avoided the insolence and hostility of France.—It has been stated, in some of the foreign journals, that Reding and his associates have been set at liberty. We shall be agreeably surprised, if this intelligence should prove true; but, at present, we can give no more credit to it than to the tale of the Ministerial Paper, which represents "poor Toussaint" as kept in a dungeon "up to his knees in water!" A tale nearly as incredible as that which is related respecting the "*stark naked*" goddess of reason, exhibited at Nottingham. Such exaggerations do infinite injury to whatever cause they are intended to serve.

The affair of his Excellency Count Stahremberg, mentioned in p. 736 of our last sheet, is, in the main, confirmed. He was ordered to quit Paris, and France; but, as to the *time* allowed him for so doing, report was erroneous. *Six hours* were given him to quit the capital, and a reasonable time to quit the Republic.—That this mandate of the Consul is positively contrary to the *law* of nations, it would, perhaps, be too much to assert; but, that it is a violation, and a very gross violation, of those usages of nations, which have grown almost into positive laws, no one can deny *. —The Count, however, as we observed before, must feel that, for this insult and injustice, he is amply compensated by the honour conferred on him by the hatred of the Corsican.—As a counterpart to this act of insolence towards the Ambassador of his Imperial Majesty to the King of England, it is intended, we are told, to send General Lasnes back to the Court of Lisbon; and, indeed, we have been well informed, that the Portuguese minister, of whom Lasnes complained, is already *dismissed from his employment!*—How long will it be ere the same sort of influence will be felt *at Whitehall?*—Nay, start not, reader! Has not the hand of Buonaparté already been felt in our courts of justice? Has he not snatched a condemned traitor from the gallows? And has not his official journal signified his wish, that our present "*prudent* ministry" may keep their places?—Connected with this topic is the daring act of sending hither a complete set of "*commercial agents*," after they had been refused to be received. The ministers have, through their official paper, informed the public,

* See the particulars relating to this fact. Porcupine's Works. Vol. V. p. 328.

* See Cobbett's Translation of Martens's Compendium of the Law of Nations, p. 265, 266 and 267.

that these persons are not acknowledged by them in any public capacity; and that, therefore, they "are subject to the *Alien Laws*, and *liable* to be, at any time, sent away for mal-practices;" but, would the ministers *dare* to send them away? That's the question; and, for answer to this question, we have only to remember *their conduct with respect to Lundberg, the Swede*, who came over with Lauriston.—Another mark of insolent contempt for other nations has lately been shown at Hamburgh, where RHEINHARD, the French Envoy, seeing the Dukes of AVRAY and POLIGNAC (two French emigrants, the former, at least, *in the service of England*) decorated with the orders of Cordon bleu, St. Louis, and St. Esprit, preferred a complaint to the Senate, who, the next day issued a mandate, *forbidding the wearing of the insignia of any suppressed order, on the part of foreigners!* Not a word of remonstrance was made on the part of the English Chargé-des-Affaires!—Thus is our mortal enemy daily and hourly rising over us in every part of the world. Why, then, will our correspondents continue to blame Sir Joseph Banks? Sir Joseph, though, by no means, overburdened with wit or learning, is a *prudent* man, and a "*safe* politician." Rats, by instinct, quit a falling house; and, after the Hawkesburian preliminaries, after the surrender of Napper Tandy and the abandonment of the Chouans, who could blame Sir Joseph for laying the Royal Society prostrate at the feet of the Institute *?

Since our last there has been circulated much pretended information, or rather misinformation, respecting the situation of St. Domingo, and the French forces in that Island. On the 3d instant, the True Briton announced, that the *government* (by which was, we dare say, meant the *ministry*) had received accounts from Jamaica, stating most fully, the "disastrous *issue* of the French expedition to St. Domingo;" and further stating, that, "it was understood, at Jamaica, that LECLERC had actually *re-imbarked with the remnant of his army*, and that a body of *five hundred French had joined the blacks*."—On the 4th, that is to say, the next day, the same paper stated, and from "good authority," that "*one thousand five hundred* only of the whole French force remained, which *had re-embarked* with general LECLERC."—This intelligence our *well-informed* ministers, our "*safe* politicians," received, it seems, from Admiral Duckworth, in a dispatch dated Jamaica, 16th of October, and, it would appear, that his news was then eight or nine days old. The intelligence was, then, dated at St. Domingo on the 7th of October, about *nine days after* general BOUDET, whose report has just been published officially in the Moniteur, left the colony for France. From the report of this general (which see p. 756), it appears, that, when he sailed, the French force consisted of *twenty three thousand five hundred* white men and *four thousand blacks*, and that *between eighteen and nineteen thousand* of the whites were fit for duty.—When this official report was received in London, which was on the 6th instant, the "*prudent* ministers" looked rather abashed. Their intelligence was admirably calculated for producing effect in the debate on the army estimates, but the contradiction came too soon; Boudet unfortunately arrived before the exhibition began! The True Briton fretted, accused the Moniteur of foul play, and, in short, discovered evident marks of disappointment at the bad luck of the savage negroes and the tardy progress of the yellow fever! And these, these are the people, who deprecate "*irritating* lan-guage!" It is absolutely impossible but the French government and the French people must at once suspect and despise them. —Unwilling to let go their hold, to give up the aid of their honourable auxiliary, the yellow fever, they have trumped up another tale, which has passed through that common sewer of news, the United States of America. This last intelligence is "*dreadful*" again; but, as it is ten days, at least, later than their Jamaica news, it may be relied on, so far, at least, as it completely does away the ridiculous story (which, as we said before, was merely intended for St Stephen's) about the re-embarkation of *Leclerc* and his army. —Why the news which, relating to St. Domingo, comes through Jamaica, or through the United States of America, ought seldom to be believed; and why the people of this country are so easily led to give credit to it; the causes of all this falshood, deception, credulity, and infatuation, are fully explained in the Register, Vol. I. p. 731, *et seq.* to which we beg leave to refer the reader. We do not say, we have never said, that the French may not have *a good deal of*

* Having strayed into a mention of this knight of the Bath, we might appear partial in omitting to notice the recent election of Mr. Fox, who, in opposition to HORNE TOOKE, is now become a "professor of *morals* and *politics*" in the National Institute. An honour most justly bestowed; but, we have our doubts, which was the worthiest object, *Mr. Fox* or *Horne Tooke*. Either of them is, perhaps, a very fit associate for Sir Joseph Banks. —The election of Mr. Fox took place on the 23d ultimo.

trouble with the blacks; but, we know, that they have already so far succeeded, as to add greatly to our annual expense of ships and men, and that even the double of this expense will not shelter our most valuable colony from the danger, which our ministers have contributed to place at its threshold.

As it comports with our plan to notice every thing, however unimportant, low, and despicable, that tends to elucidate the political situation or feeling of the country, we hope we shall be excused for saying a word or two about the meeting of the Whig Club, which, as the newspapers inform us, has held a meeting at the same public-house, which, a few months ago, opened its doors and its muddy hogsheads to Sir Francis Burdett and his gallows-hating citizens. This miserable rump of Whiggism was, as usual, headed by Mr. Fox. Neither Mr. Grey nor Mr. Sheridan were present: their absence did them much honour, and the club, as if resolved to add to the honour of the latter, omitted to drink his health, while they drank that of Sir Francis Burdett and his crew, and of the late Sheriffs of London, with three times three cheers. The Demagogue made a speech, in which, after a vain attempt to explain away what he had before said about there being no danger in the aggrandizement of France, he declared *the preservation of the peace with that country to be the bond of union of the Whig Club.* He then spoke of the *liberty of the press*, but with that sort of shyness, with which a man is apt to speak of a cast-off acquaintance, and not in that warm, bold, enthusiastic strain, which formerly characterized this ever-recurring part of his harangues. He insinuated, that, in order to preserve the blessings of peace, we ought to abstain from *irritating language* against "the person at the head of the "government of France." He forgets his former opinions: he forgets his cowardly insults on the ashes of the Stuarts, and those which he has, during almost every day of the last ten years, been heaping upon the Bourbons; he forgets, he surely forgets *his* irritating language against the *lawful* sovereigns of Europe, sovereigns in *real peace*, in *amity*, and even in *alliance* with his King. We will endeavour to refresh his memory: "the "minister was offended at the expression of "*German Despots*; but his honourable friend, who "had made use of the expression, had styled "these *monarchs* properly; for they had manifested to the world, that their uniform intention "was to make *the* INCREASE OF THEIR POWER *the* "*rule of their conduct.*" * Oh, most apt and applicable definition! and yet now, we should not be surprized, if he were to make a formal complaint against any one, that should venture to call his great friend a *despot*. The wonder is, not how a man can hold up his head, but how he can bear to exist under the proof of such glaring, such shameful tergiversation!

The last papers from Paris inform us, that Lord Whitworth presented his credentials to Buonaparté on the 4th instant.—The same papers bring an account, that Moreau de St. Mery has received the homage of a deputation from the citizens of Placentia. He assured them, that, in annexing their country to France, the only object of the First Consul was *to make them happy*; a declaration the sincerity of which is strongly corroborated by Moreau's having prevented the Marquis of Ventruria from carrying off the library and other moveables belonging to the late Duke of Parma, and which the honest Frenchman wished, doubtless, to preserve for the good of the citizens of the Duchy. We know something of Moreau de St. Mery, and we are greatly mistaken if he would not find himself perfectly at home amongst those moveables.—And is it possible, is it a fact, that this low-lived overseer of a negro plantation, with his creole wife and mulatto relations, do really inhabit the ducal palace of Parma! And do the Howards and the Russels still sleep?—God's will be done! Why should poor worms like us fret away our existence in anxiety for those who care not for themselves?

The Dutch minister, M. SCHIMMELPENNINCK, landed at Dover on the 2d inst. He will, of course, be presented at the next levee.

We regret being obliged to postpone our remarks on the late proceedings with respect to the navy and the army, more particularly as the assertions of the Chancellor of the Exchequer call aloud for refutation.—We regret exceedingly, that we have not room to remark on the very important information, which Dr. Laurence extorted from the Minister during Thursday's debate, and from which it appears, that poor Old England is, at last, *to make a pecuniary compensation to the Stadtholder!!!*—Thus is our prediction in this respect also accomplished. (See Register, Vol. I. p. 380). What now becomes of the treaty of Amiens? What becomes of the interpretation given to that treaty by the Ministers *and by the Negotiator?*—Oh, humbled, disgraced, and spiritless nation!

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Mr. J. TIETENSER's Letter, in answer to CANDIDUS (a writer in the Star), proving (and, as we think, satisfactorily), that the *latter*, and not the former, is, in reality, the "*insidious defender of Mr. Addington*," shall appear in our next. It was not, as appears by the date, written till the 9th instant: of course, we could not receive till yesterday.—We take this opportunity of requesting our Correspondents to be earlier in their communications, as, on account of the great number of sheets we have to publish, we are obliged to send to press by Friday noon, and to have almost all our matter in the hands of the printers by Thursday noon. Communications of any considerable length should, in order to appear the same week, reach us by Wednesday at 3 o'clock.

GENERAL POST-OFFICE.—Communications respecting this scene of insolence and abuse of office, have poured in upon us from all quarters. The writers may be assured, that we shall not stop short of *obtaining justice*; or, of proving that *it is not to be obtained:* the latter, we hope and trust, will not fall to our lot.—Since the publication of Mr. Cobbett's Letter to Lord Auckland (a third edition of which is in the press), the penny, heretofore demanded and received at the Post-Office, for each English newspaper sent to Ireland, has *not* been demanded or received. We should like to be informed of the cause of this reformation, and to know *what became* of the pence so received.

* Debrett's parliamentary debates, Vol. xi. p. 405.

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